
Review: Book Review

Reviewed Work(s): Social Capital as a Policy Resource by John D. Montgomery and Alex Inkeles

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Source: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (August 2002), pp. 355-357

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Comparative and International Education Society

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/367739>

Accessed: 11-11-2017 20:47 UTC

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Book Reviews

Youth, Education and Risk: Facing the Future by Peter Dwyer and Johanna Wyn. London and New York: Routledge/Falmer, 2001. 221 pp. \$28.95 (paper). ISBN 0-415-25778-6.

Over the past few decades, each of the following terms has been used to describe Western youth and their experiences: the ambitious generation, promise and uncertainty, outside the mainstream, status zero, at risk, problem kids, uncharted territory, a generation on hold. Aged 15–25, the post-1970s generation has been blamed for setting unrealistic expectations for their futures while at the same time being reprimanded for accepting dead-end jobs and flat career paths. They have been told to place education ahead of jobs and extracurricular activities while being scolded for not working as hard as their parents. Such contradictions have not been limited to parental advice. Indeed, they have influenced youth policy throughout much of Europe, the United States, Australia, and Canada. In *Youth, Education and Risk*, Peter Dwyer and Johanna Wyn combine a wide range of research on youth with their own longitudinal study of Australian youth not only to paint a mixed picture of today's young people but also to warn us of the limitations of current policy toward, and societal views of, Western youth.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first, the authors report on the elements of change, particularly those relating to education and policy, that have affected the lives of youth in the 1990s. In the second part, there is a closer look at the transitions of young people after school that reveals a gap between policy and actual outcomes. Throughout the book, Dwyer and Wyn pepper their arguments with results from the Life-Patterns Project—a 10-year longitudinal study of an initial group of 30,000 Australian students who completed high school in 1991. The next year, a further survey of 11,000 of the original participants was conducted, and by 1996 this figure was narrowed down further to 2,000 young people, most of whom had pursued further education.

Many of their conclusions lend support to those found in other Western contexts. Among the reoccurring themes is that of a mismatch between young people's priorities and choices and educational policy. On the one hand, young people are keenly aware of the competitive nature of labor markets and the need for both qualifications and experience to secure future employment. As a result, many youth take on both paid and nonpaid work in order to supplement the education they expect to receive. On the other hand, the youth who participated in Dwyer and Wyn's study talked about the need to maintain balance in their multidimensional lives. More than pursuing work or careers, both young women and men talked about developing personal relationships and devoting time to family and home life.

Such views contrast with prevailing educational policies, which, by and large, assume a linear path from schooling to work. Those students who drop out of school

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or choose not to pursue further education are viewed as being out of the mainstream and are provided with inadequate options for their futures. Combined with this false assumption are policies based on forecasts that Western economies will be driven by the knowledge society when the data actually predict greater growth in the service society made up of less skilled employees. As a result, Dwyer and Wyn contend that young people today cannot be blamed for having expectations that are misaligned with labor market offerings. Until policies themselves become more realistic, the futures of youth in Western societies will remain uncertain.

Despite a plethora of somewhat negative findings regarding the options and realities of many of today's youth, Dwyer and Wyn note their own optimism and "sense of persistence and determination in the face of frustrated expectations" (p. 12). In a world of unclear rules and strict expectations, young people are finding strength in their individual agency. With insufficient direction from educators and family, young people are being forced to make tough decisions for themselves but are surviving the outcomes. As one participant put it: "It is nice to know when looking back that you've made it this far (and most of it due to yourself) and you've proven that you can take charge of your life: financial, emotional, social" (p. 114).

It goes without saying that the term "youth" is made up of young people who differ by sex, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (SES), among other factors. Throughout the book, the authors provide evidence demonstrating if and how their findings differ along such characteristics. In the case of gender, one chapter is devoted to comparing the educational experiences and identities of young women. Despite data showing the educational advances made by girls and women over the past few decades in the West, Dwyer and Wyn alert us to the fact that many of the girls whose enrollments and achievements outpace those of their male counterparts are from high-SES backgrounds. Furthermore, females still tend to enroll in female-dominated fields of study such as the humanities. By examining women's changing identities in terms of their sexual experiences and power alone, however, Dwyer and Wyn do an injustice to our understanding of the ways in which women negotiate vague terrain.

Without claiming to provide all the answers or developing a pat solution to the complicated issues facing Western youth, Dwyer and Wyn do offer a starting point for real solutions. In their view, policy makers, educators, and family members are in part culpable for blaming young people for their problems, labeling them negatively, and making policies that lead to unrealistic expectations on the part of young people. One way to avoid these problems, they argue, is to work with youth to develop policies that are relevant and realistic, in other words, more democratic.

For comparativists concerned with educational policy, *Youth, Education and Risk* offers a highly comprehensive amalgamation of research on youth that, in the end, reveals a number of similarities among youth across the West. The news that the life patterns and the important elements in the lives of youth do not revolve around school may be difficult for educators and policy makers to admit. One place to start would be a broader definition of education—one that allows for a wider range of experiences and a longer time frame.

While the evidence provided by Dwyer and Wyn alerts us to the economic changes of the past 30 years and the shortcomings of Western economies to deal

with such changes, how might their results compare with those of other countries of the world? With the collapse of many Asian economies in the second half of the 1990s and the ongoing recession plaguing Japan, what has been the impact on youth in this region? Have they been forced to reconsider their expectations for the future, and if so, do educational policies reflect these changes? Globalization networks render such questions relevant to the lives of youth everywhere. Unless policies are improved soon, the words of one young person will ring ever more true: "It's harder these days for young people to follow a dream" (p. 113).

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Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World edited by George J. Sefa Dei, Budd Hall, and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. 282 pp. \$70.00 (cloth). ISBN 0-8020-4200-7.

Over the past decade, there has been a growing interest among scientists in understanding global knowledges. In this attempt, anthropologists and sociologists have contributed to understanding the way reality is structured in school settings. They have grappled with questions like these: How is knowledge defined, legitimated, and tested? What constitutes official knowledge? Whose knowledge is of most worth? Whose interests are served by particular approaches to psychological and educational perspectives? How do students and teachers construct meanings? Why do students frequently resist the imposition of meanings that are foreign or antagonistic to them and reject schooling practices that belittle them and denigrate their culture? How can teachers and parents ensure that learners are informed by the complete history of ideas and events that have shaped and continue to shape human growth and social development?

This upsurge of interest and flurry of scientific publications in recent years resonates with the recommendation of the UNESCO International Council for Science (UNESCO-ICS), at their 1999 Budapest conference, that traditional knowledge be integrated into science. Since this declaration, the study of indigenous knowledges has moved to center stage. Two examples illustrate this movement: the International Conference on Global Knowledge (GK) for development held in Toronto in 1997, and later the second conference (GKII) held in Kuala Lumpur in 2000, prominently featured indigenous knowledges in their sessions. With such prominence, researchers worldwide are poised to seek answers to the questions that indigenous knowledges pose.

It is with this momentum that the authors of *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts* have set out to unravel the complexities of indigenous knowledges. In this volume, the authors use comparative historical materialism, Afrocentric frameworks of national development, anticolonial discursive frameworks, African cultural epistemological constructs, and ecological feminist analysis to examine critically con-

temporary meanings of development and the circumstances of their construction from a range of ethnic and philosophical positions. They aim to search for transformative pedagogy and learning methods along the lines of what Freire, the Brazilian educator, called unity in diversity. The assumption is that as learners read the word and the world through multiple readings they can decolonize knowledge production—the frameworks of understanding their environment—from the hierarchies and dynamics of power.

The authors examine, in the 16 chapters of this volume, the varying strategies, projects, and theories that are currently being developed in support of indigenous knowledges. References to indigenous knowledges in the text are understood as commonsense ideas and cultural knowledges of local peoples concerning the everyday realities of living that form the basis of decision making in the face of challenges both familiar and unfamiliar (p. 6). They encompass the cultural traditions, values, belief systems, and worldviews that, in any indigenous society, are imparted to the younger generation by the community of elders (p. 4). They also refer to worldviews that are products of a direct experience of nature and its relationship with the social world (p. 72).

What is at first most reassuring about this work is the critical treatment the authors bring to the raging debates and understanding of subjugated knowledge and its contexts around issues of colonialism, race, class, gender, and ethnicity. The thesis of each chapter builds on the overall theme: in order to bring about social and educational change among indigenous communities, we must recognize that indigenous peoples have knowledge systems of theorizing and conceptualizing their social and natural worlds. This collection of essays challenges the continuing absence, erasure, and subordination of local people's knowledge, history, and experience from academic texts, discourses, and material social and political practices, particularly in Northern societies (p. 8). Collectively, the book's chapters situate indigenous knowledges in relation to conventional knowledges, validating the existence of multiple sources of knowledge. The goal of this book is not to romanticize local knowledges but rather to bring local/indigenous knowledges within the orbit of Western scientific knowledge.

The book is divided into four sections. The first part situates indigenous knowledges within the discourse of development and subsequently outlines in broad terms the implications for academic decolonization. The contributors bring new and complex readings to the term "indigenous." Indigenesness is central to power relationships and dynamics embedded in the production, interrogation, validation, and dissemination of global knowledge about social development. By inserting indigeneity, this orientation considers development that anchors the retrieval, revitalization, and restoration of the indigenous sense of shared, sustainable, and just social values. In this vein, George J. Sefa Dei contends in his chapter that African peoples must reappropriate their cultural resource knowledge if they are to benefit from the power of collective responsibility for social development (p. 71).

The second part of the book consists of four chapters that use case studies to illustrate contexts of resistance and advocacy of indigenous knowledges as manifested in oral narratives, folkways or sayings of the wise, the human genome diversity project, and health and environment. These case studies articulate a cosmology

that contradicts the forms of domination found in patriarchy, racism, militarism, scientific and economic colonialism, and imperialism. The authors show how indigenous peoples enact resistance when they develop oppositional consciousness to effectively subvert dominant discourses of social development. While knowledges drawn from experience traditionally have been passed through oral narratives and folklore for the purposes of understanding nature, the land, the animals, and the elements, “these knowledges can also be understood as articulating a cosmology that contradicts the logic of colonialism and offers a radical alternative” (p. 99). Taken together, these case studies validate indigenous knowledges and, in my opinion, make this section the strongest in the book.

The third and fourth sections consist of chapters that are a mix of case studies and theoretical pieces, containing predictions that cover an array of topics: native studies, Chinese medicine, African advances in development studies, literature studies, the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada, the study of native traditions and transforming practices including Ayurvedic medical knowledge, peace research of nonviolent alternatives, and an example of African multiversity (as opposed to *university*) based on the philosophy and values of spirituality, development, and politics.

Overall, this volume is highly commendable. The array of topics and variety of theoretical perspectives are impressive. One notable achievement is that it makes cogent arguments that discredit the universalism of patriarchal Western science and deal a fatal blow to popular presentations within academic circles that hold Western science as the only source of knowledge. These arguments strengthen the authors’ collective vision that there are other valid ways of seeing and understanding the world, and that development in the twenty-first century is no longer the exclusive domain of Western (global) knowledge.

The book garners challenges that speak volumes. Although the authors do not claim to have answers to all the questions, at least they raise some of them; we need to consider them seriously and design methods to study them. Some of the challenges include the following: How do we indigenize the school curriculum? How do we deal with questions of access, control, and ownership of knowledge? How do we protect local indigenous knowledges from systematization and commodification or from being swallowed up by corporate material interests? How do we preserve indigenous knowledges, particularly women’s indigenous knowledges? How do we deal with the tensions regarding “whose” culture(s), traditions, norms, and social values are to be conveyed in indigenous knowledge systems or across the school curricula? These questions open up unexplored frontiers of future research.

In addition, I believe that to build on local knowledge in the twenty-first century we must bring the ideas in this book to local communities. To do this, scholars and policy makers must change their mind-set to allow for a balance between indigenous and global knowledges. Access to the Internet is crucial to promoting awareness, to preserving local knowledge, and to linking that knowledge with modern advances in teaching and technology. Perhaps studies should be directed toward ways of bringing these two systems of knowledges—Western and indigenous—to become complementary rather than contradictory or competing.

Schools, teachers, and students can begin the difficult task of decolonizing knowledge production from the hierarchies and dynamics of power. One finds

that, on the one hand, academic language about development is largely inaccessible to teachers, parents, and community leaders looking for ways to bridge the learning that takes place at home and school. On the other hand, administrators and government agents make little or no effort to encourage curriculum developers to rethink education and schooling and to forge a new path that departs from foreign interpretation of what is important. Clearly, when students can bring to science laboratories their knowledge about local plants, birds, animals, water sources, local conservation techniques, medical herbs, pest control, and so on, such efforts demonstrate the production of alternative ways of knowing things and of keeping alive alternative forms of knowledge production. Our role as transformative and comparative educators is to sustain this momentum by encouraging divergent ways of knowing and by not getting caught within our own constructed and narrowly constraining paradigms—that is, frameworks of understanding through which we make sense of the world we live in.

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Reforming Education: From Origins to Outcomes by Benjamin Levin. London: Routledge/Falmer, 2001. 202 pp. \$29.95 (paper). ISBN 0-750-70981-2.

One of the frustrations in reforming schools is the seeming inability of the public schools to implement fully the reforms, that is, to make practical the policies that have been mandated by those who know them to be a good idea. In *Reforming Education: From Origins to Outcomes*, Benjamin Levin does not attempt to offer a list of how-to's for implementing school reform policies. He provides an integrated and comparative look at how those policies are made and how they are or are not adopted and implemented at the school level. Drawing from political and organization theory, Levin uses five examples of school reform movements from four countries to illuminate the policy development process. Levin views school systems as government institutions, subject to the same political pressures and, sometimes, the capricious decision making that rules government policy. By understanding school reform as government policy setting, educators can better understand why implementation can be difficult to achieve.

Levin summarizes six general perspectives taken from the literature on policy formation to provide a lens through which to view these school reform movements: (1) Political decisions are shaped by many considerations—everything from personal commitment on the part of a policy maker to an elected official's desire to stay in office. (2) Politics are shaped by symbolic considerations. (3) Human abilities to understand problems and generate solutions are limited. (4) Strategies for reform may focus on elements that are politically salient but that cannot produce changes. (5) Institutions possess considerable ability to resist policy changes. (6) History and culture are powerful influences on policy and practice.

He sets the stage for his analysis of the five systems of education that he examines (New Zealand, Great Britain, Alberta and Manitoba, Canada, and Minnesota, United States) with a discussion of the changes that took place in the political climate during the 1980s. In this period each system saw a movement away from expansion of governmental institutions and toward a tightening of the belt in social programs. He then conceptualizes educational reform within the context of organization theory, specifically a theory of policy “which involves some series of stages moving from the identification of a problem through the identification or adoption of particular strategies to issues of implementation and impact” (p. 19). The bulk of the book is a systematic analysis of the five reform movements as examined through the stages of origin, adoption, implementation, and outcome. His conclusions provide some valuable insights for reconsidering education reform.

While discussing the political and economic incentives that underlie the origins of education reform, Levin suggests that reform does not always originate from a compelling need and is rarely based on research. He cites John Kingdon’s view of political agendas as being the intersection of “political events, problem recognition, and policy proposals” (p. 65). A reform can come from a political party’s agenda, a policy recommendation, or within a bureaucracy. A powerful politician or a persuasive social movement can influence education policy. He says, “Research appears to play a small role in the development of political agendas for education” (p. 76).

Specifically addressing each of the five governments’ reform movements, Levin indicates that in an environment where “reduction in deficits became a central concern of governments” (p. 71) money became a particularly important motivator for educational reform. Levin’s analysis is successful at presenting the five cases in a dispassionate light. It is certainly possible, however, to infer from his information about origins of education reform policies that the need for education reform grew out of governments’ desire to save money and in some cases shift control from one level of government to another. He states, “All governments used similar arguments about economic competitiveness to justify their policies” (p. 114).

After a reform idea has originated in some corner of a government, political debate and opposition, as well as bureaucratic participation or resistance, are critical in the process of adoption of any reform program. Levin uses extensive data from interviews with key political figures in the five governments to demonstrate the forces that shaped adoption of the education reforms and how the original ideas were altered during adoption. For example, while Britain debated centralization versus decentralization of education systems, New Zealand’s adoption process was affected by a change in leadership during the adoption period.

In the implementation phase, the comparative view taken by Levin’s book illuminates the limitations of policy implementation by reviewing the success and/or lack of success of each of these governments in putting into practice the intended policies. There is a framework provided for analyzing implementation: What are the characteristics of the change in terms of clarity, complexity, and difficulty? What is the setting for the change—school organization, commitment of those involved, resources available to support the change, and match between the change and the existing culture of the school? What is the wider context of community support and competing demands? Levin cites several scholars on the need for clear goals

and the support of the players in the change process, both in terms of involving teachers and administrators and in terms of providing training or other means of support to implement changes. After carefully examining the implementation processes of each of the governments, Levin concludes, "Governments gave relatively little attention to how reforms would be implemented. They used a narrow range of implementation vehicles and were on the whole not much interested in learning about how reforms were working and adjusting them accordingly; . . . [this] could be seen as an indication that governments were more concerned with the symbolic import of reform than with its real effect on schools and students" (p. 164). Following the lack of effective implementation of government policy, Levin concludes that the outcomes of these reform movements "had relatively modest impact" (p. 164).

Levin's final statements about the intents and successes of these five education reform movements and the conclusions he draws from his cross-national comparison are not surprising. What makes this book an important contribution to the understanding of education reform is the clear and painstakingly well documented review of the five reform movements in tandem with Levin's expert analysis grounded on solid theory. His conclusions are conservatively stated against a solid foundation of knowledge and scholarship. Unlike much of the education reform literature, which fills pages with repetition of a point of view accompanied by a few worn out arguments, Levin's book is a real lesson in understanding the dynamics of education reform.

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Social Capital as a Policy Resource edited by John D. Montgomery and Alex Inkeles.
 Boston, Dordrecht, and London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001. 279 pp.
 \$49.95 (cloth). ISBN 0-7923-7273-5.

It used to be politically incorrect to point to differences in national character as explanatory factors. To suggest that the Germans were this and the French were that was tantamount to building a stereotype and led as often to misunderstanding and wounded feelings as to useful insight. This has now changed. James Coleman ("Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 [1988]: 95–120) points out that countries are associated with different amounts of "social capital." Led by the work of Mancur Olsen (*The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation and Social Rigidities* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982]), Robert Putnam (*Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993]), and D. C. North (*Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990]), the theme has helped to spur a new interest in institutional economics. To suggest that nations are associated with different social capital char-

acteristics is today taken as axiomatic. The question the book under review raises, and answers incompletely, is whether these characteristics might be subject to policy manipulation and hence put to good use.

The two editors have the experience to guide the extensive range of topics. Because of his work on modernity 30 years ago, Alex Inkeles is particularly well placed to bring a historical perspective. The Pacific Basin Research Center of Soka University of America sponsored seminars in 1997, 1998, and 1999 that generated 23 articles on social capital, of which 15 are published in this volume. In their foreword, the editors define social capital as “social relationships of trust and reciprocity that enhance a group’s capacity to coordinate actions of their members as they work toward a collective good” (p. v). The articles take up questions such as whether there is only one kind of social capital that could serve policy purposes; whether specific sectors, such as education, public health, and community development, might be more amenable to social capital policy manipulation; whether groups increase their social capital when they join others to serve external causes; and whether there are some generalizable techniques when using social capital to implement social policy.

The book contains a number of genuinely interesting discussions. Particularly noteworthy are Mary C. Brinton’s work on youth labor markets in Japan, Bill Taylor’s article on Chinese trade unions and social capital, and Xiangmin Chen’s contribution of “glue and lubricant,” a theme pertaining to ethnic social capital in the Asia-Pacific region. Some discussions are more groundbreaking than others. The contributions of Christopher Candland on religion and community development, Charles H. Norchi on indigenous knowledge as intellectual property, and Zao Yongming on the entrepreneurial elite and the state in contemporary China are particularly insightful. Others were disappointing. The article by Hunani-Kai Trask confuses popularity for sovereignty among ethnic Hawaiians for social capital, neatly sidestepping the question of whether a debate about who is entitled to call themselves Hawaiian might detract from serious consideration of wider social goals. The article by Jonathan Fox and John Gershman, on the lessons from World Bank rural development projects, employs unnecessary jargon (“unpack the state” [p. 183], “pro-poor social capital” [p. 173]). Fox and Gershman emerge with somewhat mundane findings, such as the idea that “ethnic and gender dimensions of social capital remain under-recognized” (p. 182) and that “social capital is unevenly distributed, requiring differentiated support strategies” (p. 186).

The strength of this book lies in its scope. The breadth of circumstances to which social capital applies is demonstrated through a wide gamut of examples—from social capital as a regulator for transnational venture capital in Southeast Asia to social capital as a generator of credit worthiness for community development in rural Bangladesh.

The book has two weaknesses. First, illustrations are drawn from examples within nations that do not necessarily represent nations as a whole. The book leaves aside the question as to what degree social cohesion supports or detracts from national cohesion. For instance, Candland’s article on faith as social capital in South Asia does not ask how the various, admittedly powerful, religious groups relate to each other with common themes, causes, and standards for intergroup tolerance. Carroll and Bebbington’s article on indigenous peasant federations in

the Andes leaves aside the question of how well these groups represent the more general culture. This gap remains unrecognized for the most part because policy manipulation is primarily interpreted as being the perspective of an outside donor. The question of how to employ social capital as a policy resource is not raised from the point of view of the nation-state itself.

Second, the writers do not seem to have drawn on others' efforts to question general assumptions about social capital. The book accepts, somewhat passively, social capital characteristics as if they were part of a natural endowment. The book fails to probe how those characteristics themselves might be affected by social, economic, political, and educational organizations and, through those four kinds of organizations, how nations can marshal divergent social capital interests into a cohesive structure. My article, "From the Party/State to Multiethnic Democracy: Education and Social Cohesion in Europe and Central Asia" (*Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 22 [Summer 2000]: 173–91), as well as Joseph Ritzen's "Social Cohesion, Public Policy and Economic Growth: Implications for OECD Countries" (in Canadian International Development Administration, *The Contribution of Human and Social Capital to Sustained Economic Growth and Well-Being* [Quebec: Hull, 2001]), could have provided a helpful background for such analysis.

This book will be a very useful guide for those interested in compelling examples of social capital, its varied powers, and the perspective of donors in utilizing social capital to better implement development projects. It will not be as useful for those wishing to better understand the process of nation building and the mechanisms by which social, political, economic, and educational organizations can maximize social capital potential in the effort to generate a nation characterized by social cohesion.

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Fraud and Education: The Worm in the Apple by Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein.
Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001. \$22.95 (paper). ISBN 0-7425-1032-8.

This book charts the development and perceived extent of fraud within a variety of educational contexts. Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein focus on recent and current patterns of fraud within education and provide a large number of examples of corrupt practice and cheating. They also suggest some causes of such practices and potential strategies for curtailing and even preventing them.

Noah and Eckstein address an important, and underresearched, theme within education. They point out that fraud undermines the trust placed in a working system of education and training and that corrupt practices not only unfairly promote certain individuals and institutions but also discriminate against those who conduct their work honestly. *Fraud and Education* is an engaging book that develops a strong narrative about dishonesty and chicanery in education. It covers a broad

range of different arenas of fraud in education while considering the ambiguous nature of the topic.

The structure of the book reveals its broad scope. The first chapter places fraud in education within a historical and international context and provides initial examples of fraud in education. The second chapter contains examples of the increasing ingenuity of cheats in education; while the third chapter focuses on the growing industry surrounding credentials fraud. The fourth chapter deals with professional misconduct on the part of researchers and academics, including plagiarism and the fabrication of results. The final chapter aims to provide some concrete approaches for countering fraud, based on the currency of integrity.

For the most part, the book focuses on instances of outright dishonesty, such as the use of technological devices in high-stakes examinations in order to access answers, the purchase of degrees from diploma mills, deliberate plagiarism, the fabrication of research results, and bribery. However, the authors also give attention to the question of the gray areas of fraud in education. What counts as dishonesty, and what is simply so-called sharp practice? This question would apply, for example, to the judicious composition of a curriculum vitae, which does not involve outright lying but a certain economy with the truth. Also, at what point does the help that a student receives from a parent, sibling, peer, or home tutor become cheating? Noah and Eckstein acknowledge that “a continuum of reprehensibility exists, stretching from the downright dishonest to the dubious and questionable” (p. 22). They comment that the nature of this continuum is, of course, defined by cultural context.

The wide range of examples and the variety of environments from which they are drawn mean that the book will appeal to researchers and practitioners in a number of different fields in addition to education, including law, journalism, and media studies. This broad scope reflects the book’s simultaneous strength and weakness. *Fraud and Education* covers such a wide range of contexts that the depth of analysis and interpretation inevitably cannot match the breadth of description.

Some readers may be disappointed that the link to Noah and Eckstein’s earlier book *Secondary School Examinations: International Perspectives on Policies and Practices* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993) is not stronger. There is a tantalizing reference in the preface (p. ix) to the large amount of material on cheating and fraud gathered in the course of the research for the 1993 study. The chapters in *Fraud and Education* dealing with diploma mills, credentials fraud, and plagiarism are inherently interesting, but the wide-ranging nature of the examples means that there is reduced space in this relatively slim volume for the investigation of fraud and cheating in secondary school examinations. It seems that this topic alone, with an international and comparative perspective, might have supported an entire book.

The reference in the preface also leads the reader to expect details from the eight countries investigated in comparative perspective in the earlier study. *Fraud and Education* focuses, however, on the United States. Indeed, the summary on the back cover refers to the book’s overview of fraud “in the United States and foreign countries.” The other countries investigated in the 1993 study (Sweden, England and Wales, China, the Soviet Union, Germany, France, and Japan) are, for the most part, only discussed briefly in this book, with no explicit comparison between

them. A number of the countries mentioned appear only once or in connection with a single example. Therefore, the potential comparative and international contribution of the book is more limited than it might have been.

In addition, the book might have benefited from explicit differentiation between types of fraud in education going beyond the various spheres and levels at which it occurs. A clearer distinction could have been made, for example, between what might be termed autonomous fraud and cooperative or tacit fraud. This would make it easier for the reader to navigate the many examples of fraud in the book.

In terms of the conceptual background of the book, it might have been an interesting alternative to focus either on fraud or on cheating, as there are significant differences between these two practices. Further, the volume only hints at the impact of social and structural injustice on fraud in education, and vice versa. This topic would certainly support further research studies and contributions to the area of fraud in education.

Fraud and Education represents an important acknowledgment of the scale and impact of corrupt practice within various educational contexts and should be widely read and consulted. It includes a wide selection of rich examples and should act as a catalyst for further research. One of the frustrating aspects of research in this area, however, must be that the most spectacular and audacious cases are defined by lack of detection.

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Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen by Judith Torney-Purta, Rainer Lehmann, Hans Oswald, and Wolfram Schulz. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 2001. 237 pp. \$55.00 (paper). ISBN 90-5166-834-1.

This second International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study took place in two phases. Phase 1 was carried out in the latter part of the 1990s and was designed to collect information regarding the content and process of civic education in 24 participating countries. The results of this phase were published in *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-Four National Case Studies* (Amsterdam: IEA, 1999) by Judith Torney-Purta, John Schwillie, and Jo-Ann Amadeo. This important contextual phase set the stage for the development of the test and survey that make up phase 2 of the study, discussed in this volume.

This two-phase approach was critical to the success of this project. Without the information gained in the national case studies, the 1999 test and survey administered to nearly 90,000 14-year-olds in 28 countries could not have been developed in its present form. The present study builds on, and even uses items from, the first IEA civic education study in 1971. However, the addition of the qualitative

phase 1 data to the current study allows for a level of academic rigor not possible in the 1971 investigation. To have undertaken the task of developing instruments that would measure civic knowledge, concepts, attitudes, and participation across the 28 countries is commendable.

This initial report contains 10 chapters. They include an outline of the theoretical foundations of the investigation (chap. 1); a thorough account of the development of the instruments, sampling design, and pilot testing, as well as of the quality control measures undertaken in the data analysis in order to adhere to the rigorous IEA standards (chap. 3); six chapters that analyze various aspects of the test and survey results in terms of the three core international domains developed during phase 1 (chaps. 3–8); a brief chapter on the teaching of civic education (chap. 9); and a final chapter synthesizing the key findings of the study across the 28 countries.

In chapters 3–8, the authors go into considerable detail in their analysis. The 14-year-olds' knowledge of civic education content (25 items) and their skill in interpreting civic-related material (13 items) indicate that, overall, they demonstrate a fundamental knowledge of democratic ideals and processes although they are not always as skilled in interpreting political materials. However, overall differences between countries are small, compared to cross-national studies in other areas like mathematics. Throughout the analysis, the authors give examples of test items to help put the discussion into context. They also discuss the development of each part of the instrument, the source of the items, and the scaling measures applied. It is a thorough treatment of the data.

Although there are far too many findings to be reported on in the brief space permitted here, several deserve mention:

There is a positive relationship between students' knowledge of democratic processes and institutions and their likelihood of voting as adults.

Obedying the law and voting are viewed as important attributes of good citizens.

While these 14-year-olds are moderately trusting of government and its institutions, they have little trust in organized political parties and do not plan to become involved in them or run for office as adults.

Most of these 14-year-olds have a positive sense of national identity.

Most of these 14-year-olds are supportive of the political and economic rights of women, although females are more supportive than are males.

Most are generally positive about immigrants and their rights.

Most depend, in the main, on television news for their information, followed by newspapers and radio news.

They are somewhat more oriented toward social-movement forms of participation, such as working for the environment, human rights, and other causes.

Schools that foster a democratic orientation, promote an open climate for classroom discussion, and involve students in school life promote increased levels of both civic knowledge and engagement.

This is an important book on an important study. The authors give us a glimpse into the wealth of data produced by this research. With the release of the data set in 2002 will come increased possibilities for further analysis by others with interests in the area of civic and citizenship education.

I have three specific comments and one concern after reading this book. First, schools do matter in terms of developing a base of civic knowledge of government and its institutions. The development of a citizen is a much larger and more complex process, but schools do matter in this process.

Second, although clearly not the intent of this volume, one would hope that there is a future report planned that speaks directly to teachers and social educators involved in civic education. The present report is for researchers and comparativists, people such as those of us who read *Comparative Education Review*. But if the long-term implications of these findings are to result in changes in civic education curricula and instructional methods in classrooms where much of this student learning takes place, they will need to be placed in a more applied, best practice form for teachers.

Third, chapter 9, "The Teaching of Civic Education," frankly seems out of place with the rest of the analysis. While some interesting observations are made, they are not in the same vein as the data from the other chapters that focus on the students and their level of civic knowledge, understanding, and participation. These observations would have seemed better saved for a report on the impact of school ethos and instructional influences.

Finally, as a point of accuracy, Hong Kong SAR is not a country: it is a Special Administrative Region within the People's Republic of China. Somewhere in the first chapter describing the participants in phase 2 of this study this should be acknowledged and most definitely noted in any of the forthcoming volumes specified in the study report.

In summary, this is a well-conceived, implemented, and analyzed study fully measuring up to IEA standards. It also comes at a very important time, given recent global events, as civic educators reassess the role and importance of civic education in the development of citizens who are prepared to meet the challenges of these times.

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Academic Staff in Europe: Changing Contexts and Conditions edited by Jürgen Enders.
Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2001. 330 pp. \$79.95 (cloth). ISBN 0-313-31828-X.

For all its claims to universality, the academic world is quite diverse around the world. Universities vary widely in their size and complexity, in their requirements, and in the way they are internally organized. Academic work conditions vary from country to country, despite superficial similarities in titles and responsibilities. This new volume, edited by a German scholar, Jürgen Enders, convincingly demonstrates that, even within a small subset of countries in Europe, there is wide variation in the size and shape of the professoriate and in the conditions of work. This volume is a uniquely useful resource, offering a wealth of information on academic posi-

tions, from the rules for entering a system, to the compensation and workload stipulations, and on to retirement rules. This book is also an excellent reference for learning about recent education reforms in European higher education. For each country, the authors describe recent systemic changes and policy reforms that set the context for understanding academic conditions. Most of these countries have undergone substantial change, and a knowledgeable general summary of those changes is most welcome.

The core of this book is found in separate analyses describing the nature of academic work in 14 European countries. It includes countries with large academic systems that have over 1 million students (France, Germany, United Kingdom, and Italy), along with others with relatively small systems (Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden). Four broad categories are detailed for each country: staff structure and career tracks, the basis for job security and tenure, the regulations governing academic salaries, and policies related to staffing and human resource development. Scholars from each country who are knowledgeable about their country's systems (usually in academic positions themselves) give factual information that is typically available only in government documents and in the country language. Comparable information is provided here across countries, along with important explanations about differences in how terms are defined or how their usage varies from what might be assumed.

The meaning of tenure, for example, is described in detail for each country, including descriptions of the specific conditions under which tenure is granted and under which permanent academic staff can be dismissed. New structures are also described, including the introduction of temporary positions and teaching-only positions in some countries. Although much current debate focuses on tenure, Enders wisely points out that the issues being debated are more related to job autonomy than to job security (p. 13).

Similarly useful are descriptions of the status and working conditions of junior-level academic staff, one of the most troubling aspects of current academic working conditions. Most European countries have not had an explicit career ladder of academic ranks, yet the numbers of junior staff, who usually have heavy teaching responsibilities and few job protections, have expanded dramatically in most of these countries. The authors in this volume are generally candid in their descriptions of the difficulties that junior staff face. In fact, policy makers across Europe have increasingly recognized that the conditions of work for junior staff need to be improved. As *The Times Higher Education Supplement* recently announced (November 23, 2001), the German parliament has recently agreed to a major reform that will create 6-year junior professorships available to new academics immediately after completing their doctoral study.

The timing for this book is especially significant. Several of these countries experienced significant change in the role and functioning of higher education over the last 2 decades. All have been affected by a heightened climate of expectations, in the midst of rising enrollments, closer public scrutiny, government-mandated restructuring, new technology, and constrained financing. Indeed, the stated purpose of this book was not only to make comparisons across and within countries but also to analyze the changing academic environment. Collectively, the

authors share important insights about the impact of external changes as experienced at the ground level of academic teaching and research.

Somewhat surprising was the relatively little attention given to the likely effects of the European Union's (EU) initiatives to harmonize the now disparate higher education systems found among these countries. For more than a decade, the European Commission has sponsored programs to foster mobility across countries among students and academic staff. More recently, through the Bologna Declaration (1999), the EU has formally stated its vision that higher education increasingly become one educational space with common degree designations and agreed on accountability procedures in all member countries. To further European integration, much legal work is under way to establish the right of qualified persons from any member country to apply for employment positions in another member country. These developments will have deep structural effects on the conditions of academic life in the EU countries. The working conditions described in this book may eventually be governed by a common set of EU-wide rules and procedures that could set the qualifications for entry positions, the basis for determining merit raises and promotions, and the terms for obtaining leave or taking retirement.

Because of the potential enormity of these prospects, a discussion might have been expected of their possible implications. Indeed, as the editor acknowledges, "momentous changes" are ahead and the present debates could be "the first noise that precedes the coming winds of change" (p. 10). Perhaps the authors of this volume will collaborate again with a forward assessment. Understanding the potential impact of the tsunami that is just over the horizon is just as important as assessing the storms and squalls of the past decades.

For the present, this is an insightful volume that will be useful to scholars, practitioners, and policy makers alike. It helps us understand individual country circumstances while offering a veritable compendium of alternative approaches to the many components of academic employment.

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